







# The Nation Still in Danger.

OR,

## TEN YEARS AFTER THE WAR.

A PLEA BY THE

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION,

WITH

CONFIRMATORY ARTICLES

BY

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PUBLISHED BY THE  
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION.

56 Reade St., New York.

1875.

## PREFATORY NOTE

BY THE SECRETARIES OF THE

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION.

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We believe most firmly that the education and morality of the Negro is the only safety for the South and the nation. A turn in the current of popular sentiment towards that belief is manifest. To add our mite of influence to this favorable impulse, the first article of this pamphlet was prepared. To give weight to its utterances, the advance sheets were sent to a few writers who always command the attention of the nation, asking for confirming opinions. The response is found in the able papers which follow the first.

The two brief closing paragraphs are sentences taken from letters expressing regret that pressing duties did not permit the writing of extended articles.

The facts, figures and opinions here presented, are worthy, as we think, of the thoughtful consideration of every American citizen.

GEO. WHIPPLE, }  
M. E. STRIEBY, } *Secretaries.*

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## THE NATION STILL IN DANGER.

By Rev. M. E. Strieby.

America's supreme danger lies in the alienation between the North and the South, growing out of negro slavery. This is attested by fifty years of bitter controversy, intensified by the Mexican war, the Kansas-Border conflict and the late dreadful rebellion. It was hoped that this last, in the direful series, would have ended the trouble, but it only introduced new complications. Slavery was removed, but the negro remained, and at once the two questions sprung up as to his civil status and Christian culture. The first of these—the *civil status*—aroused the whole nation for a time, but soon the popular feeling, reacting from the overstrain of the war, and weary of the new discussion, left the matter in the hands of Congress and the political parties, and with them the agitation has never ceased, being fomented by the ever-recurring disturbances in the South. The duty of *Christian culture* for the blacks awakened great enthusiasm in the North; numerous societies were formed and vast sums of money gathered, but here again the popular impulse has subsided and the great work has sunk to the rank of an ordinary charity.

But now, ten years after the surrender at Appomattox Court House, the whole subject is forcing itself back upon the attention of the entire nation. It is found that neither the South nor the North is satisfied. The South, weakened by droughts, floods, taxes and foreclosures, and agitated by Federal interference and local disturbance, is poorer and more discouraged than on the day of the surrender. The North has applied the strongest remedies known to the Constitution and still the national health is not restored. Her most skillful politicians are at a loss, deeming it equally unsafe to do more, or to do nothing. The nation begins to see, as never

before, that the remedies were external while the disease was internal. Even the war was a terrible blood-letting which weakened but did not cure, and the subsequent legislation has been only an irritant that fretted the debilitated patient whose main trouble was undue irritability and who needed quiet industry for recuperation. The real difficulty lies so deep that it remains almost untouched; it is the ignorance and degradation of the blacks and the prejudices and hatreds of the whites—in other words it is in the *minds and hearts* of men. Now, manifestly, ignorance and prejudice can only be overcome by light and love. It is vain to lash the bitter waters after the outflow; the fountain must be changed. It is useless to build the superstructure if the foundation stones are unmatched and uncemented. In short the dense illiteracy and embittered prejudices of the South must be overcome, not by legal restraints or party victories, but by education and the Gospel.

Three points press for consideration: 1. The underlying facts; 2. The adequate measures for harmony; 3. The responsibilities of the North in regard to them.

## I. The facts as to the condition of the South.

### 1. THE ILLITERACY.

(As given in the U. S. Census Tables of 1870.)

We know of no better way to set forth the facts on this subject than by comparing the South with other sections of the Union. In adopting this mode, we have no feeling of triumph in the contrast. Our sole aim is to arouse the generous sympathies of the North towards the South.

*Persons over ten years old who cannot read.*

SECTION.	TOTAL POPULATION.	CANNOT READ.
Eastern and Middle States, (including foreigners.)	12,303,534	478,606
Western States " "	12,023,629	409,175
Southern States " "	13,878,435	3,550,425

PERCENTAGE. Thus 25.5 per cent of the population of that age, in the South, are illiterate, against 3.8 per cent in the Eastern and Middle, and 3.4 in the Western States.

*Voters. Male population of voting age.*

SECTION.	TOTAL VOTING POPULATION.	CANNOT READ VOTING AGE.
Eastern and Middle States .....	2,747,694	226,592
Western States .....	2,644,875	217,403
Southern States .....	2,914,736	1,137,303

PERCENTAGE. Thus again, 39 per cent of the voters of the South, white and black, cannot read, against 8 per cent in the two other sections.

2. EXPENDITURES FOR EDUCATION.

(From the Report of the Com. of Education, 1873.)

*General comparison by sections.*

SECTION.	POPULATION.	EXPENDED FOR EDUCATION.
Eastern and Middle States.....	12,303,534	\$32,451,601
Western States .....	12,023,629	\$34,828,628
Southern States .....	13,878,435	\$11,176,344

From this table it appears that the Southern States, with a population *larger* than either of the other sections, expend only about *one third* the amount.

*The South compared with single States, North and West.*

	POPULATION.	EXPENDED FOR EDUCATION.
The Southern States .....	13,878,435	\$11,176,344
Single States		
New York .....	4,387,464	\$11,256,894
North		
Illinois.....	2,539,891	\$9,259,438
and		
Massachusetts ..	1,457,351	\$6,241,239
Iowa .....	1,194,320	\$4,229,452
West,		
Michigan.....	1,187,234	\$3,148,884

*Northern and Southern States of nearly equal population.*

STATES.	POPULATION.	FOR EDUCATION.
New Jersey.....	906,096	\$2,471,343 )
Alabama.....	996,992	\$490,604 )
Iowa.....	1,194,020	\$4,229,452 )
Georgia.....	1,184,109	\$223,661 )



*Expenditure per capita of population between 6 and 16.*

Comparison of highest and lowest, North and South.

IN THE NORTH: Massachusetts, the highest \$21.74. Maine, the lowest, \$6.57.

IN THE SOUTH: Maryland, the highest \$6.55. North Carolina, the lowest .62.

Thus the lowest expenditure *per capita* in any Northern State is higher than the highest in the South; while the lowest in the South is only the fraction of a dollar!

The figures in all these tables present a dark picture of education in the South, but the Commissioner of Education is compelled to deepen the color, in regard to some of the Southern States, by remarks like the following:—

"In Alabama, the board of education has labored under great embarrassment from the difficulty of securing from an impoverished people the needful funds for the support of free schools. As a consequence of this, teachers have in many instances had to wait months for the payment of salaries due them, and a large number of the free schools in country districts have been closed."

"Arkansas has labored under the same embarrassment as Alabama with respect to funds. The State-certificates with which taxes and teachers have been too generally paid, have fallen to less than half their face-value, school sessions have had to be cut down to three months, and teachers, unable to secure even half their salaries, have very often abandoned the profession and left the State."

"Louisiana has struggled through the year under kindred financial troubles with the two neighboring States just named; and as, by an unfortunate change in the school-law of Texas the public-school system in that State, has been almost broken up, the outlook for education in the South-West is not encouraging."

The *colored people* in the South feel, with special force, the weight of all these discouragements. As Secretaries of the American Missionary Association we can testify that the want of funds is usually felt first in the colored schools; that in many of the remoter districts there is hostility to the education of the negro and in many more localities, indifference; and that in nearly all sections there is a great lack of teachers for colored schools.

### 3. RELIGIOUS CONDITION.

The blacks are religious. No people have given examples of sublimer faith or more enduring patience. But with such ignorance among priests and people, and with the diabolical training of slavery almost compelling theft, falsehood and unchastity, it is little



wonder that much of their piety is emotional and immoral. Their Horeb has the wind, the earthquake and the fire, but not the still small voice. Their Sinai has the thunderings and lightnings, the thick cloud and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud, but the law lies broken at the foot of the mountain.

The whites, too, are religious, but here also slavery has left its dreadful impress. Those stormy passions, armed with despotic power, which Jefferson saw and deplored, have made men prompt to ire, impatient of legal restraints and reckless of human life. The released slaves, now exalted to power, in their ignorance and corruption, move the white man to contempt and bitterness; while the long-cherished hate towards the North has been intensified by the war and its results.

The large and increasing numbers of Southerners who are the exceptions to these remarks are deserving of all the honor the North can bestow, for they are the van-guard of those who are marching to join us on the common grounds of peace and national unity.

## II. The True Methods of Harmony.

1. The first—the essential measure—is the culture of the blacks in knowledge and piety. This only can fit the slave for the responsibilities of a freeman; and this only can win the respect of the old masters. This will do it; for when the black man, in the field or shop, at the bar, on the bench, or in the pulpit, is as competent for his position as his white rival or associate, then he need not *ask*, for he will command that respect.

2. The advancement of the poor whites will be pressed forward by this. The intelligence and thrift of the negro will stimulate the ignorant and idle whites to labor and to study, for they will not be left behind the "nigger."

3. Then will come the next great step—the co-operation of the cultured whites. When they shall see the North earnestly and successfully engaged in these unselfish and Christian labors, they will not be slow to recognize the motive and join in the efforts, for with all their prejudices, the Southern people are generous, and

when once the tide of their better impulses sets in the right direction, we may expect it to flow with characteristic enthusiasm.

### III. The Responsibility of the North.

1. A common interest demands its aid to the South. The North and South are and *must be* one. They must sail or sink together. If they are divided, they will be hostile foes; if united, yet not in harmony, they will be warring brothers.

2. The wealth of the North enables her to render the aid. The South will never beg, but her impoverished lands, her desolated homes and the ignorance of her masses, are all eloquent to the heart of a brother whose barns are full and whose home is the abode of plenty and of peace.

3. The North is largely responsible for the present condition of the South. Without the help of its strong hand the slaves could never have been held in bondage; it also began the agitation of the slavery question; its armies emancipated the slaves and its legislation framed the present plan of reconstruction. Well may the the South say to the North: "The situation is mainly what you have made it, and if there is danger to the nation you must share the responsibility."

4. Northern churches owe a duty to the South more pressing than to the West. They have made the West what it is religiously, and must do more for it. But the West is intelligent and wealthy. It can build cities, plant churches and establish colleges. The South is poor. It will need special help, for two generations, to bring her masses up to the level of the West in education and thrift, and only then can the North render to each, on equal footing, its missionary and educational assistance. Especially do the blacks need liberal and varied help; they came almost naked and helpless out of slavery, and have had little means of earning anything since. The West needs only the occasional aid of an older brother; the blacks, as children in helplessness, need the guiding wisdom and pitying support of a father.

The churches ought to do more for the distant heathen, but ought they to be reached by stepping over the blacks at our doors?

And if the American churches do go abroad, should slave-plundered *Africa* be forgotten? Is there no finger of God pointing to these ex-slaves as called to carry the Gospel to the land of their fathers, where they can endure the climate and reach a kindred race as white men cannot? May we steal Africa's sons and daughters and enslave them and do we owe no gospel debt in requital?

5. What is done for the colored people in the South must be done quickly. The West India Islands teach us a startling lesson on this subject. When emancipated, the blacks there were ready for education and the gospel, but the whites, always few, withdrew more generally from the Islands, and England, giving millions to the former masters, made almost no provision for the education of the blacks, and the sad result is that no more indolent people or more indifferent to culture are to be found in nominal Christian lands. A Scotch missionary from one of the Islands once told the writer that he and the few whites around him had no hope of industry in the blacks except to let them *starve into it!* Our slaves when first set free exhibited a marvellous enthusiasm for knowledge, but the means of instruction not having been adequately provided, they are already beginning to sink into idleness and intemperance, to become the tools of demagogues, to yield to the attractions of Romish worship or to relapse into a fetishism as licentious as it is extravagant. England's mistake was made with comparative safety to herself, for the W. I. Islands are but as end-joints on one of her fingers, but the question as to the blacks of this nation, judging by its past history or present difficulties, is vital to its welfare—nay its existence.

6. Here, then, are the chief danger and duty of America, demanding attention more immediate and practical than any other. There is danger from the Catholics, but it is, first of all lest they win over these blacks as disciples and control them as voters; there is danger from the influx of foreigners, but none more pressing than that from these blacks of foreign ancestors; there is danger, in this broad land, from sectional conflicts, but none so great or immediate, as that between the North and the South.

The safety of the nation demands that no more time be wasted in doubtful experiments, and above all that there be no more of dan-

gerous delay or still more dangerous indifference. Before the war, the North tried to persuade itself that it had nothing to do with slavery, but a million of lives was the price of that delusion. Let us beware lest a more terrible penalty follow another mistake!

#### THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION.

This Association has, with others, entered this great field. It has, under its care, *seven* institutions chartered by Southern States, giving higher education to the more advanced pupils: it has *seventeen* normal or graded and *thirteen* common schools, training young men and women as teachers. In all its schools it has nearly 10,000 pupils, and its former students are now teaching 64,000 children—thus training the people to teach themselves.

These schools meet with the warmest approbation of influential Southerners and the Southern press, and, to some of the institutions, liberal appropriations of money are made by Southern cities and States—thus showing a most gratifying spirit of fraternal co-operation.

The Association has also under its care in the South *fifty-four* churches, mainly composed of persons connected with, or trained in, its schools; and these churches, pure in character and intelligent in worship, are winning the confidence and esteem of the white ministers and people.

These efforts are in the right direction. It only needs more of them to do the great work, but the Association is crippled by the indifference that has fallen upon the nation on this subject. It sees the danger and makes its earnest appeal, not for its own sake but for the sake of the vital interests jeopardized—the safety of the nation, the welfare of the ex-slaves and the redemption of Africa.

# THE CULTURE OF THE NEGRO

FOR THE SAKE OF THE NATION AND OF CHRIST.

By Rev. T. D. Woolsey, D.D. LL.D.

I think that every one must be aware that the freedmen at the South are placed in a very trying and perilous condition by the war and its results. It was necessary to put them on a level with the whites, to grant them equality of rights in all political respects, so that if excluded from the suffrage they must be excluded on the same conditions and by the same laws by which whites are excluded. The result is, as was natural, that they are all voters; and thus we have two races living together, who must more or less distrust one another. It cannot but be, as long as the freedmen are uneducated and unenlightened, that they will be a prey to cunning men who will play upon their fears, and will seek to secure political power for themselves by making the antagonisms of race as intense as possible. The only way to prevent this, if it can be prevented, is to enlighten the freedmen, and this light can only come from such an institution as the American Missionary Association. I am sorry to be obliged to feel that their own religion, to whatever sect they may belong, as long as they are illiterate, and their colored teachers are illiterate, will not save them and the country from the evils, which may grow out of collision of races. I do not think that so mild a race would knowingly provoke a conflict, but they will be exposed to many suspicions; there will be overbearing whites who will intimidate them; and when evil breaks out, it will be greatly magnified and the evil will grow in consequence. If these views are correct, there is need of their being taught sound religion and morality, of being under guides who can lead them with judgment, and keep them from wrong and harm, by opening their eyes to their situation, by making them prudent, cautious of offense, kind to all, peaceable.

I have dwelt chiefly on one result of religious and moral training, because the situation of the freedmen is very peculiar; hardly any such strong contrasts can be found in all history. But it would be altogether a narrow view to lay before the friends of the colored

race, that the interests of the country demand their enlightenment and elevation. The great point is to save their souls for their own sake and for Christ's sake. And in order to do this they must have more light and knowledge than they are getting by their own endeavors and through their ministers. The American Missionary Association comes before them with a title to entire trust. It is made up of friends to their highest welfare. It has no ends to secure which are not equally valuable to them. It is sustained and conducted by self-sacrificing exertions of religious men. If it can plant the gospel among them—a gospel built on intelligent faith in the Lord Jesus—it will be of little importance afterwards what sect of Christians they connect themselves with. On this point of intelligent Christianity every thing turns, their temporal advantages, their deliverance from old sins that cleaved to them in their ignorance, their capacity to rise, their exercise of political rights, their friendly relations with the white race. To them, more than to almost any class of men, the gospel brings the promise of the life that now is and of that which is to come.

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## THE EMANCIPATED MAN WANTS KNOWLEDGE.

By Hon. Frederick Douglass.

I am obliged by your circular entitled "*The Nation still in danger.*" There is much of wholesome truth and timely warning in its pages. The mere abolition of the form of slavery in the South, while the spirit of slavery is permitted to shape itself into new forms, will neither benefit the emancipated class nor the class from which they were emancipated. Ignorance, superstition and groveling sensuality were the natural outgrowths of slavery and slaveholding religion. These evils could not be reached by the forcible abolition of slavery. Time and patient labor are required for this, and I rejoice that the Association you represent has been able to do so much of the needed work. Through two hundred years of bondage the slave was permitted to hear only the gospel of contentment.



He was told to be contented with ignorance, with slavery, with superstition and with a sensual religion—full of animal heat and excitement—of boundless ecstasy and boundless depression. All his hopes and aspirations were to be fixed upon another world. The present world was nothing for him—the other world everything. What the emancipated man wants now is knowledge. To get this he needs money and land, something that will give him time to think and improve his mind. His poverty and destitution are his greatest obstacles to progress. Teach him how to make the best of this world, how to be useful to himself, his family, to the community and to the world of mankind. Most of our colored preachers represent the old religion borrowed from their masters, and are hardly fit for the new work of moral reconstruction needed at the South. The new times require new men and new ideas. I certainly wish you success in your humane and educational work.

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## MORAL RECONSTRUCTION.

By Rev. Washington Gladden.

When the war closed, two methods of dealing with the people of the South were open to the nation.

We might have held the South as conquered territory for a term of years, establishing military governments in the several states.

This would have given the whites an opportunity to repair their broken fortunes and reconstruct their industries. If they had been free from the obligations, the irritations and the temptations of politics, perhaps it would have been better for the material interests of the section. The blacks, too, might, by this method, have been partly prepared for the responsibilities of citizenship before it was thrust upon them. It is not at all certain that this policy which was strongly urged by Mr. Sumner would not have been a wise policy.

It was not, however, that which the nation chose. The other alternative of reorganizing the State governments in the Southern States, was preferred; and the local sovereignty was entrusted to



the people of the South without distinction of race or color. The experiment has not been altogether successful. The whites, angered and embittered by the enfranchisement of the negroes, have sometimes stood sullenly aloof from politics, and at other times have carried passion and violence into the political contests; the negroes, practising in office the vices which slavery had bred into their natures, have sometimes stolen the public money and ruined the public credit. Throughout the South, industry is crippled, real estate has depreciated, and life and property are insecure. There are outrages of intimidation and assassination by the whites, and outrages of legislation by the negroes: the conflict between the races shows few signs of abatement.

The National Government has been trying through all these years to reconstruct the South, but its success has not been brilliant. The more it has meddled with the matter the more it has muddled it. It has become pretty evident that Southern society cannot be reconstructed from Washington. The question as viewed from that standpoint has become almost wholly one of party politics. How party capital can be made out of it is the leading inquiry. The Republicans in Washington will not do justice to Southern Democrats; the Democrats in Washington will not do justice to Southern Republicans. The crimes of each party are justified by its adherents; the decent conduct of each party is covered up or depreciated by its antagonists. The number of those men who, in Congress, or in the Government, are inclined to treat the whole question on grounds of statesmanship rather than of partizanship, is lamentably small.

The spirit in which legislation on this subject is now conducted is not only bad, but it may be doubted whether any methods of legislation now within the reach of the National Government are not wholly inadequate to meet the case. Doubtless the nation might depose the Southern State governments, and take the whole power into its own hands. Then, by means of a large standing army, peace and good order might be maintained throughout the South. If things should go on, in Louisiana, and in Arkansas, as they were going on not long ago, that might be the duty of the nation. But

this heroic remedy has not yet been strongly urged by anybody, and if it is not to be resorted to, then it is obviously unwise for the General Government to undertake the enforcement of police regulations in the Southern States. The conflicts of jurisdiction are so constant, and so sharp, that the whole structure of the nation is disturbed by them.

Moreover, the seat of the trouble is one that cannot be reached by legal measures. The ignorance and viciousness of the masses of the Southern populations, white and black, are the root of the evil. So long as the great body of the negroes, and of the poor whites are only partly civilized, having no true knowledge of their political obligations, and no clear ideas of the first principles of morality, so long as *two-fifths of all the voters cannot read*, there will always be disorder and corruption among them. Falsehood, theft, and adultery are vices in which the negroes have been schooled all their lives; and the poor whites have got their education largely under the same tuition. It is impossible that men should govern themselves by one rule of morality in their private affairs and by another in their public conduct: and, therefore, a democratic government in which such citizens bear rule must be full of rapacity and brutality. The rights of property will not be respected; public faith will not be kept. Universal suffrage in a population of this sort means universal pillage and universal war.

Nothing will cure these mischiefs but the education of the people. There will be no peace at the South till the South is civilized, and men are not civilized by edict.

There is just one ray of hope in the outlook, and that is the willingness of the negroes to receive instruction. It may be that they are not quite so eager to learn as they were at the close of the war, and there is some reason why they should not be. The opportunity has been withheld from some of them so long that they are tired of waiting for it. Others have discovered that ignorance is no bar to political preferment: that the most illiterate among them make their way into the legislatures and the lucrative offices, and they have forsaken the evening school for the caucus. Still there is among the blacks of the South a very deep and general desire for

education. If this desire could be satisfied, the future of the South would be secure. The education of the negro, not only in the elements of science, but also of Christian morality, would speedily terminate the disorders at the South. The South could not educate him, if it would ; and, so blind are the resentments of the old régime, that perhaps it would not if it could. The more cultured classes are gradually outgrowing this bitterness, and begin faintly to rejoice in the success of the efforts put forth by Northern Christians to improve the condition of the blacks ; but very little aid in this work can be expected from them for some time to come. The nation cannot tax its citizens to carry on this enterprise ; the citizens must tax themselves. It will cost less to reconstruct the South with school houses and spelling books, than to do it by and by with forts and bayonets. It can be done, now, by these moral instrumentalities, so that it shall never need to be done over again ; it can be thoroughly done in no other way ; and the longer we delay in doing it, the greater is the danger that another and a far more difficult job will be thrown upon our hands.

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FROM HON. D. H. CHAMBERLAIN,  
Gov. of South Carolina.

There is no doubt that education, secular and religious, is the great want at the South. All efforts in that direction tend to remove the *causes* of present evils, and ought to receive the cordial aid and sympathy of all good people.

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FROM HON. JOSEPH R. HAWLEY,  
Ex. Gov. of Connecticut.

The importance of these topics *cannot* be exaggerated—in their bearing upon the future of the country.



